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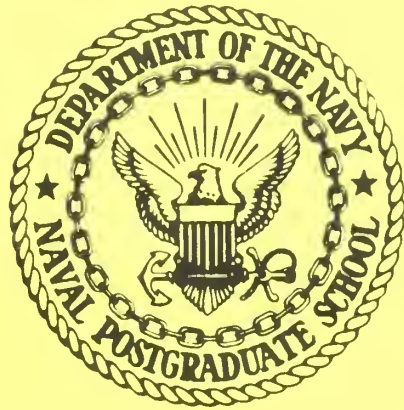
"Career Planning: Individual and
Organizational Perspectives"

by

James K. Arima (Ed.)

July, 1981

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Prepared for

⎼ Personnel Research & Development Center
Diego, CA 92152

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

Monterey, California

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)
Five papers representing different frames of reference have the objective of clarifying and highlighting the interaction between individuals and organizations in developing personal careers. The purpose in doing this is to accomplish manpower planning and the management of human resources more effectively and efficiently as a result of greater sensitivity to individual and organizational interests and needs. The emphasis is on managerial and executive careers. Topics addressed include the dynamic aspects of aggregate

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and individual personnel management, the management of transitions in career development, individualism and the existence of career anchors as opportunities for, and sources of problems in, the optimal use of people in organizations, the special problems of two-career couples, and steady-state career development in occupations as an alternative to the typical linear career in hierarchical organizations.

FOREWORD

The papers in this report were presented in a symposium entitled "Career Planning: Individual and Organizational Perspectives" that was held on 11 November 1980 at the TIMS/ORSA (The Institute of Management Sciences/Operations Research Society of America) National Meeting, in Colorado Springs, Colorado. It was organized by the editor who, as a member of the executive council of the ORSA Special Interest Group in Social Science Applications, recognized a need for the consideration of individual career intentions and organizational career plans when the flows of people within an organization are modeled to forecast and determine manpower requirements. The introductory paper in the series provides further details regarding the dynamic interaction between individuals and their modeled flows which must be accommodated to provide the greatest validity for such manpower models.

The participants in the study are especially qualified to address the socialization and transition of individuals in organizations and the influence of organizational and occupational settings on individual careers. Individuals familiar with organizational and occupational settings which have highly established hierarchical structures and are more likely candidates for the application of manpower models were deemed to be especially important for this symposium. A prime example of such a setting is the military officer system of the armed forces, where almost all input to the system is at the bottom and lateral entry is essentially nonexistent. The individual participants were:

Dr. Meryl P. Louis, Department of Administrative Sciences, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California.

Dr. C. Brooklyn Derr, Department of Management, University of Utah, Ogden, Utah.

Stephen R. Barley, doctoral candidate at the Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. John Van Maanen, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In addition to the foregoing participants, Dr. Douglas T. Hall, School of Business Administration, Boston University, was scheduled to speak on "The Two-Career Couple in the Military." Unfortunately, turbulence in his own career involving a move from Northwestern University to Boston University via a year at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York, precluded his attendance at the symposium. He did, however, send some notes to be presented and discussed, and they have been included in these proceedings.

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STOCKS AND FLOWS IN MANPOWER MODELS HAVE FACES

James K. Arima
Naval Postgraduate School

Two aspects in the planning and development of human resources in organizations appear to exist more or less independently and to operate in parallel. One, representing the organization's interests, is concerned with the overall requirement for human skills at various experience levels, the likelihood of attaining them, and the alternatives that are available to the organization for correcting discrepancies between the requirement for manpower and its supply. The second operation is concerned with the career interests of individuals in the organization, or those who might some day be its employees. It addresses the great variation in individual needs, their change with continuing employment in the organization, and the strategies for handling these factors in a positive way to ensure the steady supply of human resources to the organization in requisite numbers and quality. The dynamic relationship between these two activities and the need to bring them into closer harmony are evidenced by the recent surgence of interest in the management of careers within organizations (Hall, 1976; Jelinek, 1979; Morgan, 1980; Schein, 1978).

In planning for human resources the needs of the organization and the complexity of the problems have led to quantitative manpower models at an aggregated level with necessary or convenient simplifying assumptions (Grinold & Marshall, 1977). The necessary components of a model of a manpower system in a steady state are listed in Figure 1. One source of the interface problem between organizational manpower planning and individual career planning arises because these models leave out the behavior of the people in the system, the commodity that is being managed.

Rather than dealing with individuals, the approach deals with classes of manpower at different levels of experience. For example, one might have engineers at three experience levels--1, 2, or 3. Some industries call them engineers, engineering specialists, and senior engineering specialists, respectively. Then, there are jobs that are also modeled by classes and the experience level desired. For example, one job might be in systems design at the engineering specialist level (level 2). Finally, there are rules for advancing people between experience levels and for assigning manpower classes to jobs.

In order to use the model for planning, it has to be projected over years to the planning horizon. Three people-related parameters are necessary to do this. These are (1) the current inventory or the "stock," (2) a function for aging the inventory, which is often an experience-based survivor curve by years in the organization, and (3) an input rate of new hires (often at the lowest levels). With the

COMPONENT	ELEMENT

STRUCTURAL

CLASSES OF MANPOWER BY OCCUPATIONS AND
EXPERIENCE LEVELS

CLASSES OF JOBS BY SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE
REQUIRED

DYNAMIC

RULES FOR ADVANCEMENT OF MANPOWER THROUGH
EXPERIENCE LEVELS

RULES FOR ASSIGNMENT OF CLASSES OF MANPOWER
TO CLASSES OF JOBS

TEMPORAL

INVENTORY OF MANPOWER AT TIME-BASE ZERO

FUNCTION FOR AGING THE INVENTORY--E.G.
A SURVIVOR CURVE

INPUT RATES FOR NEW HIRES

FIGURE 1. ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS OF A STEADY-STATE,
MANPOWER-PLANNING MODEL.

inventory, survivor curve, and the input rate, it is now possible to flow the inventory over the planning years. Thus, we have the stocks and flows in the title of this paper.

The obvious problem that the planning model might show is a discrepancy between the inventory and job requirements at various points in time. There are many alternatives within the model--and, accordingly, in the organization--that planners can take in searching for feasible solutions. The number, type, and requirements of jobs might be changed; the progression (promotion) rate between experience levels can be accelerated or retarded, the rules for assigning classes of people to classes of jobs might be changed, and so forth, to accomodate the projected supply. Without a doubt such organizational moves might drastically change the behavior of the stock that is being flowed--i.e., the survivor function, the availability and quality of new hires, or the capabilities and production of the existing force. Accordingly, we cannot ignore the fact that the stocks and flows have faces.

Business week (1980), for example, put faces on its curves of demographic trends to emphasize their economic impact on the labor force (Figure 2). Marilyn Morgan (1980) used a portion of this figure (without the numbers) as a thematic cover for her book, Managing Career Development. Unfortunately, it is not so simple to put appropriate faces on the planning model outputs. There is the small
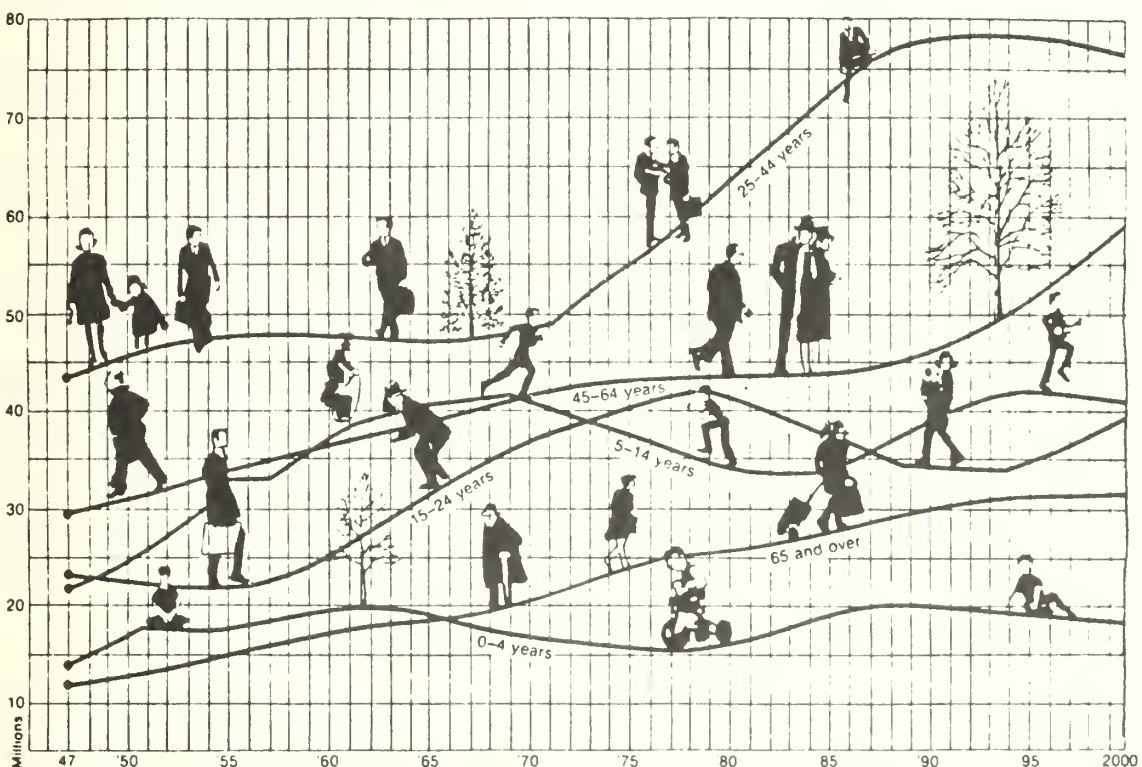
How drastic shifts in demographics affect the economy

Figure 2 "Faces" emphasize shifts in demographics (Courtesy of Business Week).

problem of a lack of sufficient data to create functions for relating changes in the planning model parameters to changes in the survivor curve and the behavior of its stocks and flows. Some model makers may even call attention to this problem and warn the model user of its existence (Grinold, 1979).

The best that can be done at the present time is to examine, analyze, and theorize about the actual flow of people through organizations and occupations to bring the aggregate models and people behavior into closer juxtaposition. Doing so should result in more accurate planning, and eventually, richer models of manpower systems. It should also result in greater career fulfillment of the individuals in the organization.

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Problems in Career Planning and Development

Meryl Reis Louis
Naval Postgraduate School

My purpose here today is to call your attention to critical
limitations in current approaches to career planning and development
(CPD) and second, to discuss a substantially overlooked, though I believe
critical, area within the field--the area of transition management. I
will begin by briefly characterizing current approaches to CPD and
outlining critical limitations. Then I will describe transition
management and its relevance to CPD. Before going further, though, let
me define transition management. By transition I mean the period during
which an individual is getting accustomed to a different organizational
setting and/or role. Transition management, then, refers to the actions
and orientations of individuals in transition and members of
organizational units they are entering which directly or indirectly
facilitate the newcomer's adaptation in and to the new setting.

My hope is that these remarks will be relevant to the interests of
three groups:

1.   practitioners: those responsible for designing and implementing
      CPD programs within clinical, educational, and work settings
      (e.g., consultants, counselors, managers, personnel staff);

2.   researchers: those conducting research and otherwise framing
      CPD issues;

3.   individuals: those endeavoring to better develop and manage
      their own careers as well as the careers of their peers and
      subordinates.

CPD: Approaches and Limitations

Historically, two major directions or agenda have been pursued
within the domain of career planning and development. The first has been
a focus on helping individuals identify career paths that match their
interests and abilities. The time horizon in career pathing has been
long-range. Sequences of jobs or types of jobs have been plotted over
the work life of the individual, based on results of self and others'
assessments of one's potential and capabilities.

The second focus in CPD has been on the specific activities involved
in finding a job. The time horizon there has been short-range, although
individuals may internalize job-finding skills that are used periodically
throughout one's work life. The emphasis has been on managing the
process of obtaining a "suitable" job--and there CPD has traditionally
stopped (see Figure 1). In my view, the critical middle-range between
finding a job and moving along a career path has not yet been addressed
in CPD. This inattention to middle-range activities has contributed to
some serious limitations in the practice of career planning and
development. Figure 2 lists some limitations which I will briefly
discuss.
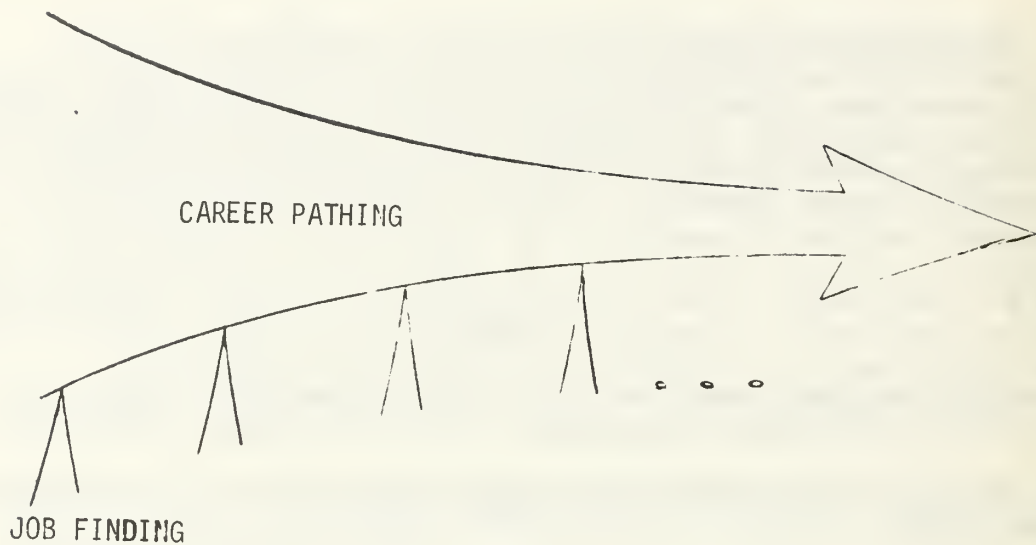
CAREER PATHING

JOB FINDING

Figure 1. Current focuses in career planning & development.

1. FUTURE VERSUS PRESENT

2. APPEARANCE VERSUS EXPERIENCE

3. "CAREER" VERSUS JOB

4. PREMATURE PATHING

5. THE LINEAR ASSUMPTION

6. WORK LIFE VERSUS TOTAL LIFE

7. THE INDIVIDUAL VERSUS THE ORGANIZATION

Figure 2. Imbalances in career planning & development.

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Limitation 1: Future vs Present Focus

The current portfolio of CPD agenda tends to reinforce a future orientation at the expense of the present. Current jobs are evaluated in terms of the long-term contribution to the pursuit of the chosen career path. An instrumental orientation toward work may be reinforced. The job is seem as a stepping stone to the next one. A "ticket punching" mentality, serving in this job in order to move to the next one with primary concern for some ultimate position, must necessarily undermine commitment to the organization and its goals, as well as sidetrack commitment to the organizational role and task. A preference for high visibility positions coupled with an avoidance of risk-taking is a strategy naturally accompanying extreme cases of this by-product of career pathing. In my view, a far more fruitful orientation for individuals and organizations is a balance between concern for the present and concern for the future. This translates into a learning and mastery stance for the individual wherein work experiences in the present job stretch the individual and are welcomed as opportunities to contribute and learn, and retrospectively, to assess competence and identify preferences.

Limitation 2: Appearance vs Experience Focus

This limitation is an extension of the previous point. The current emphasis on the future in the extreme has contributed to an unsavory concern with appearance over experience. This represents another dimension of a creeping instrumentalism that has received varying degrees of peer, media and institutional reinforcement, particularly among MBA graduates. Witness the Fortune cover story of April 7, 1980 which reflects a cynical, materialist, appearance-oriented focus or the advice in Business Week's (1974) article "Plotting a Route to the Top."

Limitation 3: "Career" vs Job Focus

"Career" is a term that was not much used by nonacademics a decade ago. It is an abstraction. It represents a conceptualization attributed retrospectively to the set of events, activities, experiences, and decisions occurring over the course of an individual's work life. "Career" is not what one lives, but rather how one thinks about what one has lived. As with other abstract conceptualizations, it is useful for generalizing from experience, both across the particular experiences of one person and across people. However, misuse of abstract concept-ualizations may produce some undesirable results. For instance, continual prospective conceptualization, e.g. heavy focus on one's "career," may contribute to detachment and even alienation from one's concrete experience, one's day-to-day work experiences. In terms of a

learning cycle model (Kolb, 1971), current CPD approaches tend to overemphasize abstract conceptualization and underemphasize concrete experience. Focus on a person's career and career path needs to be balanced by greater attention to a person's job and immediate work experiences.

Limitation 4: Premature Pathing

Career pathing presumes one can determine, with help, what one really wants to do. Yet Schein's (1978) work on career anchors suggests that only with substantial experience does one's "true" predilection or focus emerge. What this implies is that career pathing for those in early career stages is, at a minimum, premature and may precipitate long-term dysfunctional effects for the individuals and the organizations in which they work. Responsiblity for premature pathing, broadly speaking, rests not only or even primarily with formal CPD programs. To some extent, it is built into our educational institutions and is perpetuated through peer, family, and other pressures. The stigma attached to acknowledging you don't know what you want to do after college graduation remains today. The stigma and the career counseling remedies prescribed for such uncertainty reflect unsupported assumptions about the accessibility and emergence of work and other life orientations. Overexuberant use of pathing, tracking, or slotting in CPD may belie a mechanistic/deterministic tinge.

It may be that career pathing efforts are best deferred until 5 or so years into one's work life. In any case, it seems desirable to legitimize as an option exploration through varied work experiences during early years at work.

Limitation 5: The Linear Assumption

Imbedded in career pathing as it has been considered to date is a linear assumption. "Up or out" is a phrase used in many organizations to describe manpower practices. Until the mid to late 1960's success was consensually defined in terms of progression up the corporate ladder (Morgan, 1980:171). Success was associated with a steep linear job history profile reflecting increased responsibility and authority within a single occupation and even organizational category. But as Mike Driver (1979) has discovered, many people gravitate toward other types of "career" profiles. For instance, a steady state or flat profile may characterize the histories of successful professionals such as doctors and lawyers. And, increasingly, we are finding a spiral profile reflecting, for instance, serial immersion in different occupational/professional pursuits. What this suggests is that an assumption that careers either are or ought to be linear is no longer adequate on the basis of individuals' behavior and preferences. From an organizational perspective, the linear assumption collapses as a result of a number of structural and environmental pressure, not the least of

which is the declining growth in the number of (new and old) positions
available coupled with the increasing competition for positions produced
by the "babyboom" cohort. Care is needed to expand our views as
practitioners and researchers of acceptable and successful career
profiles. The advent of lateral transfer programs and technical career
ladders is evidence that some organizations are supporting an expanded
portfolio of career profiles. In my view, we are not yet adequately
attuned to the pervasiveness of the linear assumption. For instance, it
often creeps into the framing of "career plateauing" issues. Current
discussions of mobility, while broadening beyond the assumption that
upward is the only kind of mobility, may reflect normative biases derived
from traditional single/model views of success. Caution is needed to
avoid slipping back into the linear assumption mind set as it reflects a
historically pervasive perspective.

Limitation 6: Work Life vs Total Life

Current approaches to CPD have not adequately considered the total
life space of the individual. The work life has been considered to the
exclusion of other critical aspects of an individual's life, aspects
which both affect and are affected by one's work (Kohn & Schooler, 1973;
Bailyn & Schein, 1976; Louis, 1980a.) The increasing prevalence and
impact of dual-career families underscores the need to consider the
work/family interface in CPD (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976).

CPD efforts need to reflect more up-to-date views of the
relationships among work and other life considerations. Assumptions
about individuals for whom career development programs are designed may
no longer be appropriate. For instance, the life decisions of today's
worker no longer follows worklife decisions as may have been the case for
the worker of the 1950's and 60's.

In one sample of 225 MBA graduates 3 years out of school, family
considerations have significantly contributed to major worklife
decisions, e.g., to seek a job change or to decline a promotion, for both
single-career and dual-career couples. The total life space of the
individual may impose constraints on, and/or provide resources for, CPD
efforts. Family and extra-work spheres represent potential staging areas
for developmental experiences that could feed worklife capabilities.
Extra-work spheres simultaneously represent areas in which the
"developed" worker can play out/utilize skills for which the organization
currently has no channel--either because of manpower bottlenecks,
cutbacks in business, or skill mix problems. For a number of reasons
then it is essential that CPD views be expanded to encompass not only
work life, but the total life space of an individual.

Limitation 7: The Individual vs the Organization

This final limitation is a reminder of something we have all heard
before (Hall & Hall, 1976; Van Maanen, Schein, & Bailyn, 1977). Career
development activities must be meshed with organizational interests. We
must jointly consider individuals and the organization in CPD. Costs and
benefits to the organization in terms of resources, mission, and unit
productivity must be assessed in designing CPD programs. And broad

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organizational structures, policies, and practicies need to be examined
as webs of potential opportunties for and roadblocks to fundamental human
development experiences. A decade ago, organization development (OD)
specialists sought to separate themselves from traditional personnel
functions in organizations to more effectively negotiate resources,
access, and credibility. Similarly, it may now be advisable for CPD, at
least the policy and even design functions guiding CPD, to be separated
from the personnel area. Underlying any shift in reporting relationships
should be a basic reconceptualization of the issues to encompass
organizational and individual needs. More than mere marketing of CPD is
at stake. Narrow-vision CPD programs based predominately on individual
interests are likely to fail through oversight, through lack of
consideration of realities of the organizational settings in which they
are implemented.

In summary then, current approaches to CPD tend to emphasize the
future at the expense of the present, appearance over experience, and
career over job. Further, current CPD efforts may result in premature
pathing and rely on an inappropriate, linear, career profile assumption.
Finally, CPD tends to overlook relevant aspects of nonwork life and omit
consideration of an organizational perspective.

These limitations reflect trends in practice and thinking about CPD
rather than any inherent deficiencies in the idea of CPD. They are best
viewed as imbalances which can be rectified through judicious self-
reflection, through reexamination of premises and values, and through
refocusing CPD efforts.

Nearly exclusive attention to long- and short-range concerns, to
career pathing and job finding, and inattention to middle range
concerns--such as managing job transitions--has no doubt contributed to
these imbalances. As a strategic change, a middle range focus on post-job
finding transition management should be added to the portfolio of CPD
agenda. Let us look more closely at what transition management is.

Expanded View of CPD: Transition Management

When an individual moves into a new job, he or she enters an
unfamiliar organizational setting (Louis, 1980b) and crosses important
organizational boundaries (Schein, 1978:246). The experience is
demanding and entails cognitive, emotional, and behavioral adaptations by
the newcomer (Louis, 1980b). Adaptation is critical for success in the
situation and in the job. The individual's subsequent job attitudes and
behaviors (e.g., commitment, tenure intention, turnover, and productivity
or performance) are a function of experiences during the early or
transition period in the new setting. A period of transition is
associated with any major job or role change, whether the individual is
in an early, middle, or late career stage (Sofer, 1970; Buchanan, 1974;
Schein, 1978; Louis, 1980a).

The substantial impact of the transition period and the increasingly
prevalent occurrence of major worklife changes involving periods of
transition (for any one person as well as for all people) justify

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expanding CPD to encompass transition management activities. In addition, attention to the past job-finding transition period naturally counter-balances and could, therefore, help overcome limitations in CPD outlined earlier. Figure 3 depicts an expanded version of CPD encompassing transition management. What specifically is involved in including transition management in CPD? What concerns and questions am I suggesting we pursue?

CAREER PATHING

JOB FINDING

TRANSITION MANAGEMENT
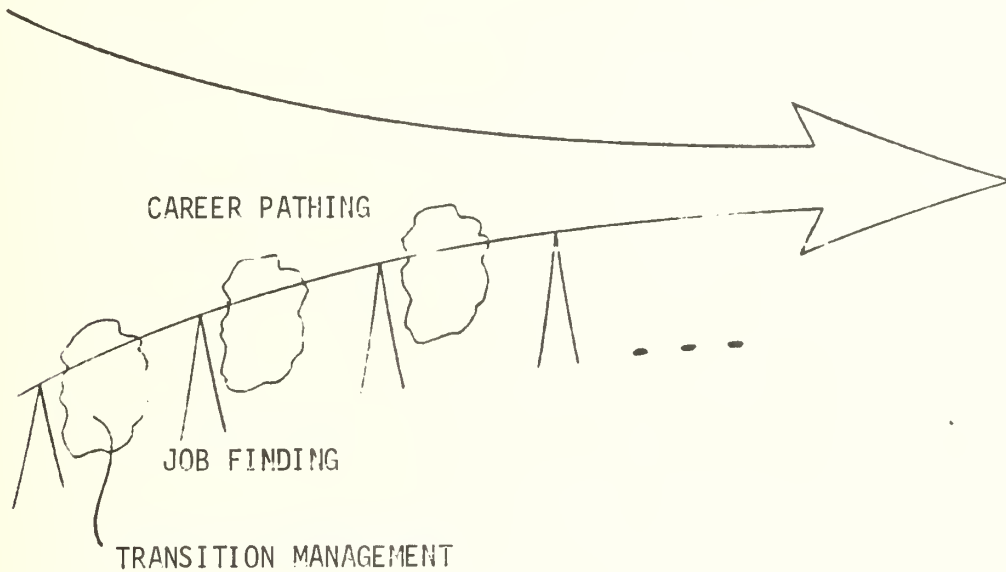
Figure 3. Expanded focuses in career planning & development.

Initially within CPD, I suggest we need to identify transition agenda: what does the newcomer accomplish in becoming an insider in a particular setting? What is accomplished from organizational and other perspectives during the transition period? Further, we need to specify traditional transition management strategies and tactics and we need to develop improved strategies appropriate for the various participants in the transition.

Any given transition impinges on several constituencies or domains, stimulating interests and aims of members of those domains. Simultaneously, transition processes and outcomes are influenced by each domain. In addition to the transitioner, for instance, his or her supervisor, co-workers, subordinates, family, and the formal organization structure and policy may all influence the ease and success of the

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transition and have a stake in the transition outcomes and processes. (See Figure 4.) Analysis of interests and influences, agenda, and strategies of the various constituencies would provide valuable background for transition management programs with CPD.
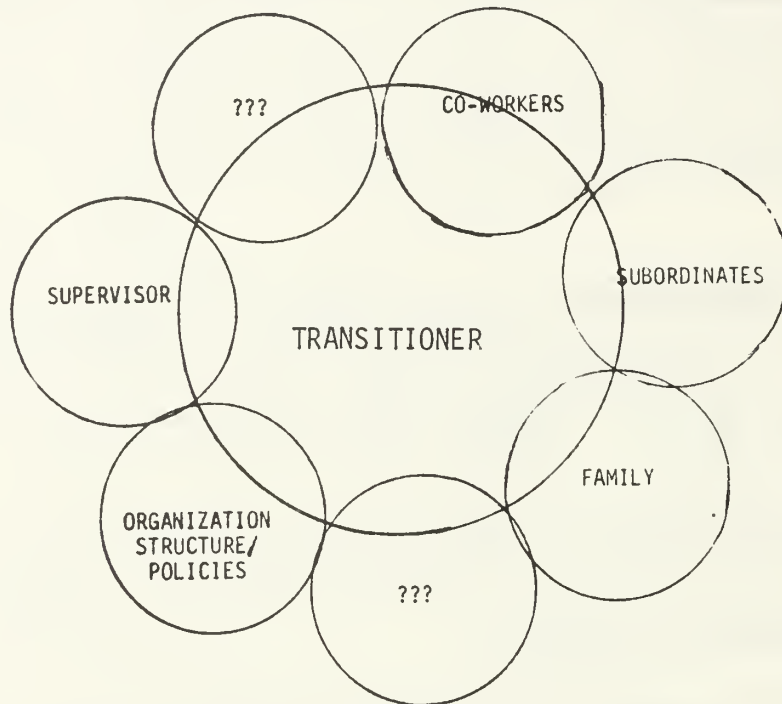
Figure 4. Domains of interest and influence
during transitions.

For now, let us outline the transitioner's typical agenda or interests to illustrate what needs to be done for each transition constituency. The following agenda is drawn from my own work (Louis, 1980a,b). For other work on the subject see Schein (1978, Chapter 8), Feldman (1976), Buchanan (1974).

First, the newcomer must master the task. He or she must find out about and become proficient in both the formal procedures and the standard operating procedures, the informal procedures of doing the job.

Second, (and these are listed in no particular order), the newcomer must develop or select an identity vis-a-vis the formal role. For instance, the individual may elect (tacitly or consciously) to maintain the status quo and take on a "custodial" role identity (Schein, 1971) or to revise strategies for accomplishing the mission, taking on an "innovator" role identity.

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Third, the newcomer must develop an identity and a place in the social system. In interaction with peers, subordinates, and boss, an identity or an image(s) of the newcomer's attitudes, skills, values, styles emerges and key relationships are negotiated.

Fourth, the newcomer must generate a cognitive map of the relevant players and terrain in the new setting. Who's who, the relationships among them, and the pecking orders are mapped as are territorial orientations and boundaries.

Fifth, the newcomer must discover core values, ideals, and taboos indigenous to the organizational and social systems.

Sixth, the newcomer must decipher the local symbol and language system. For instance, knowing that a 9 o'clock meeting officially starts at 9:10 at the Naval Postgraduate School is a part of the symbol system a newcomer needs to decipher in order to operate efficiently, if not effectively, in that system. The transitioner's agenda is summarized in Figure 5.

DOMAIN OF CAREER PLANNING &
DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN
TRANSITION MANAGEMENT

TRANSITIONER
AGENDA

ORGANIZATIONAL
AGENDA

TRANSITIONER AGENDA

• MASTER TASKS
• DEVELOP ROLE IDENTITY
• NEGOTIATE RELATIONSHIPS/PLACE
• MAP PLAYERS & TERRAIN
• DISCOVER CORE VALUES
• DECIPHER LOCAL SYMBOLS

ORGANIZATIONAL AGENDA

INTEGRATE NEWCOMER
INCULCATE GOALS/NORMS/VALUES
    .
    .
    .
    .

Figure 5. Transition management: developing strategies
           for multiple agenda.

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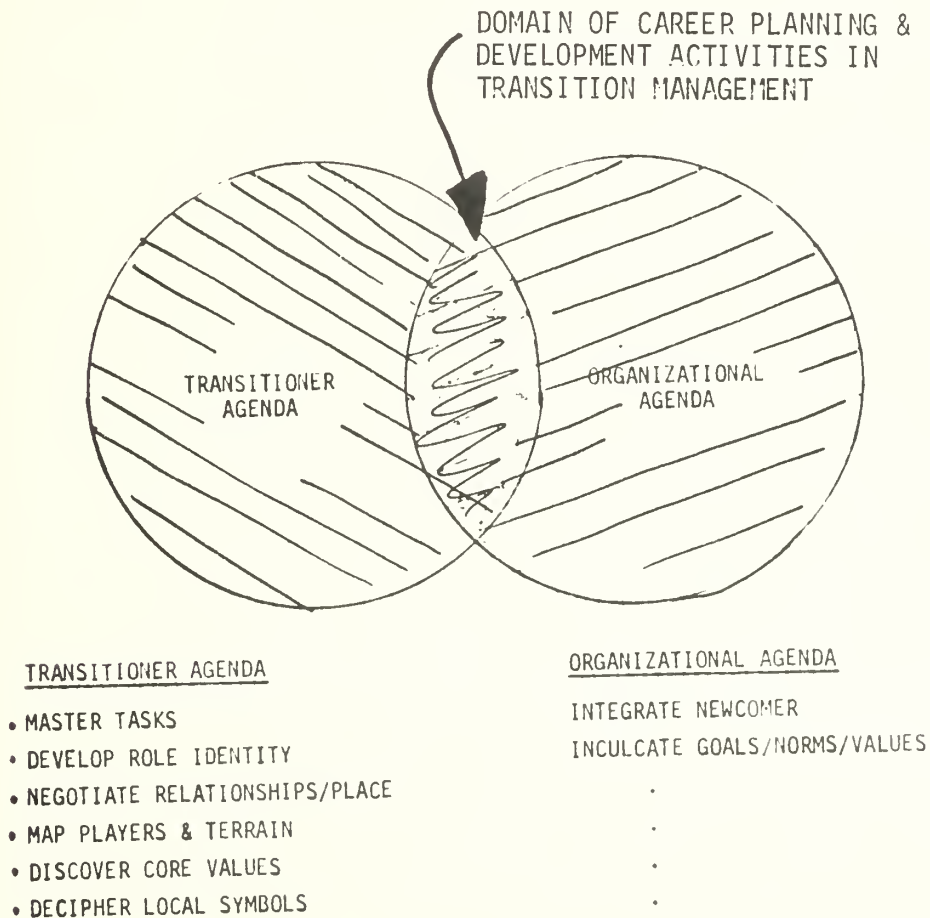Only mastering the task and developing a role identify, the first two items, bear directly on the job for which the individual was hired. But task mastering is the activity most typically supported in organizatonal efforts to aid individuals during the transition period. Yet, as this list indicates, the transition entails a much broader agenda. Therefore, we need to investigate, develop strategies, and design programs to assist in the other necessary transition activities.

We need to understand various processes by which values, symbols and, other nonobjective aspects of the organization may be detected. The prescribed, formal official in organizations is readily available to the newcomer, but it is through the realized, informal, and operative that newcomers and insiders alike must make their way in everyday life on the job.

Traditional concerns with transitions in early career overlook the needs for transition experiences and CPD assistance of those in middle and late career stages. It may be that transitions in mid-career are more difficult for all concerned and therefore bear closer attention and more assistance. Kotter's (1973) classic statement of the need to negotiate a psychological contract with one's boss in "managing the joining-up process" represents an essential element in transition management at all stages. But the relationship with the boss is only one of the several critical types of relationships to be negotiated. In most kinds of work situations, we might expect coworker relations to be more critical than relations with one's boss in facilitating a smooth transition through help in deciphering symbols, language, values, and mapping players and terrain.

CPD efforts can be brought to bear on transition management issues. What is needed is research and practice aimed at: 1) understanding post-job-finding transiton agenda, processes, and parameters, and 2) developing strategies for use by newcomers and members of various organizational constituencies (e.g., supervisor, coworkers) in managing transitions. Learning a new task is typically no small matter. Learning a new organizational culture with its values, symbols, pecking orders, and players' roles, is no less demanding or essential for effectiveness in the job. While assistance in learning the task is routinely offered to the newcomer, similar assistance in learning "the system," or the culture, is lacking. It is time for us to turn our attention to these aspect of transitions into a new job and to develop ways of helping individuals and organizations in the management of transitions.

Finally, the inclusion of transition management within a CPD approach would provide a counterbalance to some of the dysfunctional tendencies mentioned earlier. At a minimum, concern with transition management brings attention back from the future to the present, from appearance to day-to-day experience, and from career to the job at hand. Similarly, concern with transition management creates a natural bridge between organizational and individual perspectives.

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A NEW CAREER ANCHOR:
THE WARRIOR

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Profile of a Warrior

What we call a warrior is a careerist driven by the need for
high-risk adventure, self-testing, and challenging opportunities to a
degree that separates him from traditional entrepreneurs or industrial
managers. An Air Force officer we'll call Robert is typical.

During the Viet Nam era, he applied to Officer Training School in
the Air Force and was accepted. He selected this option rather than
yield to the urgings of friends who wanted him to seek refuge in Canada
or become an Army "ground pounder" by being drafted. His preliminary
hobbies included downhill racing, skydiving, scuba diving, and motorcycle
competition, and he wanted the excitement of flying.

At OTS, he was continually on restriction for violating one
regulation after another--for saluting with both hands simultaneously or
throwing an upperclassman out his window for calling the room to
attention for the 14th time in 14 minutes. Despite himself, he was
commissioned an officer and sent to undergraduate pilot training. Vision
problems and chronic allergies disqualified him and he was reassigned to
a radar scope job he despised. Talking to a friend, he discovered that
the Air Force had a small and elite special force that parachuted behind
enemy lines to set up drop zones and landing zones for airborne troops
and supplies. He managed to destroy the flight physical in his medical
records and passed another physical, not mentioning the allergies or
once-broken back which would have disqualified him. He was accepted and
began training. He attended the Army ranger school; HALO (High Altitude
Low Opening) parachute school; jumpmaster school; water jungle, tropical,
arctic, and winter survival schools; scuba training; air traffic control
training; and others. Some schools he attended twice, if he had the
chance, and he was often named Distinguished Graduate.

He went to Viet Nam as an adviser, contracted malaria in a native
village, and wandered delirious in the jungle for 10 days before he was
rescued. Assignments included emergency evacuations and natural
disasters. He would parachute day or night onto land or into water, from
helicopters, hot air balloons, small aircraft, or large cargo planes. If
he could make one more jump (even though he had already made 12 that
week) he would; when a risky mission in Africa came up, he gladly
cancelled the long-planned vacation with his family in England.

Then, after five years in the Air Force, he was given command of a
small, foreign-based unit. He immediately cut rules and regulations he
considered unnecesary and set up his own: daily calesthenics and running
two miles a day (he himself usually ran five). He aggresively arranged
every training mission possible with nearby Army units and foreign units
with comparable missions. His unit was soon making water jumps and night

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jumps, participating in international jump meets and traversing mountains--in short, practicing every contingency under which they might be called to operate. Even though Viet Nam had been over for three years, he instilled an urgency of his own into training, challenging each man on the team by his own competence and attitude.

Friends and family call him "crazy" but admire him because they see him succeed at things they'd like to try but find too risky. He walks on the edge of disciplinary action for being so outspoken with his commanders; but when difficult situations arise, they call on him, confident he can solve the problem. He is good enough to be nonconforming in a conformist society and get away with it. He is happy in the military only because he is doing something that is challenging and will stay as long as he keeps moving up without being promoted away from the action.

By being the best in his field, Robert has found considerable autonomy and gets to make most of his own decisions on how to accomplish a mission.

He operates very well under pressure, makes decisions rapidly, and welcomes new problems. The "ideal" problem requires parachuting into water, swimming with scuba gear to the beach, infiltrating an enemy camp, accomplishing the mission, then escaping overland, relying on map and compass, to a pickup point some 15 miles away.

Reluctant to delegate, he supervises those under him so closely that they describe themselves as hands operated by his mind. He strains to match or exceed a competitor in running, parachuting, or push-ups, respecting most those he cannot beat. He has no patience for those who would rather be with their families than take a mission, complain about conditions, or play politics. He respects only technical competence that can be tested and retested and never fail the test.

His own high standards carry over to colleagues or family members. If one of them reaches a goal, Robert will at the very most say "good" and then urge him to reach a new, seemingly impossible, goal.

His self-esteem is based on the knowledge that he has passed increasingly high tests. What others call recklessness is really solid self-confidence with only an element of pushing against his own boundaries. Robert is a warrior.

Career Anchors

The warrior is a newly-identified type of careerist. Other types have been identified ever since Edgar Schein (1975, 1978) studied 44-male alumni of the Sloan School of Management at MIT, both during their time at MIT and 10 to 12 years after their graduation. As he probed why they made certain kinds of career decisions, their responses began to emerge in a pattern which helped explain what happens during the middle segment (5-10 years) of a career history. Schein postulated that while the early career (one-to-five years) was a period of mutual study and discovery between employee and employer, midcareer is somewhat different.

Somewhere between approximately the 5th and 10th year one gains a clearer occupational self-concept, and Schein labels this self-knowledge the "career anchor."

The career anchor "serves to guide, constrain, stabilize and integrate the person's career," says Schein (1978, p. 127). It is "inside the person, functioning as a set of driving and constraining forces on career decisions and choices" (1978, p. 125). Thus, the metaphor of an anchor connotes the composite needs, values, attitudes, motives, and abilities of an individual which tie him to a certain kind of work history or career.

One discovers one's career anchor by coming to understand one's self-perceived needs (based on the tests of real situations and feedback from others), one's self-perceived abilities (based on a variety of work experiences) and one's self-perceived work values and attitudes (based on encounters between the person and the employer's norms and values). It requires real work experience to arrive at such an awareness. Career anchor assessment depends not only on the needs and abilities one originally brings to the work situation but also on the opportunities provided to broaden one's experience and the quality of feedback from others.

Schein uncovered five major career anchors in the MIT group. Managerial competence is the term he used to designate those linked to a career in management. They have a strong need to rise to positions of managerial responsibility and they enjoy managerial activities. They possess both managerial skills, such as analyzing problems and handling people, and the emotional stamina necessary to withstand the pressures of the job. Most of these career types, naturally, desired work in large organizations where they could best realize their managerial aspirations.

The technical/functional career anchor characterized people most concerned with the quality of their work or with its technical aspect. These people want to increase their proficiency continuously and view their careers as prolonged opportunities to keep learning about their area of expertise.

Another group was mainly concerned with long-term stability, location in a given area, and job security. Schein identified their anchor as security. Others found organizations difficult and worked towards personal space--freedom from close supervision and regulations. Schein labeled these as having an autonomy anchor. Individuals with a creativity anchor had an overriding need to create something of their own: a new business, product, or service.

Additional career anchors which have thus far been postulated as possibilities are identity (being fully part of an institution, group, or organization and having the reflected status of that association), service (needing to reach out and be helpful to others), power, influence and control (being able to "make things happen"), and variety (working for the "reward" of constant changes, breadth rather than depth, movement and new adventures).

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Derr (1979) has suggested that it may be useful to differentiate between two major categories of anchors: the ability-centered anchors and the values-centered anchors. That is, Schein's managerial, technical/functional, and entrepreneurial anchors require specific skills and abilities to be operational. Security and autonomy anchors are, on the other hand, based more on values and aspirations than skills. In the Career Anchor Comparison chart (Figure 1) which follows, the anchors are classified as ability-centered and value-centered. The warrior anchor is in the value-centered category.

Of course, there are few "pure" types. Most of us have one orientation so strongly that we have an anchor, but many of us have abilities and links with other anchor positions. For example, there are probably many warriors who have also learned at some minimal level how to be good at family relations, sensitive to organizational politics, and conformable with broad company guidelnes. It is important, nevertheless, to define the archetypes so that we may theoretically distinguish between the concepts.

Identifying a career anchor is useful. It is a kind of self-knowledge that helps one better identify his long-term contributions, set up his personal criteria for choosing among a variety of jobs and work settings, more accurately define what personal success would be, and more clearly perceive how to organize life and work experiences. For the employing organization, the career anchor concept implies that an individual will become increasingly patterned over time and that the highest productivity will result if the organizational needs match individual interests.

A recent exploratory study by Derr (1977, 1980) of the career patterns of U.S. Naval officers revealed the warrior profile, a sixth career anchor. Naturally, there were relatively few warriors in his sample of 154 males from five different officer communities. Most naval officers possess technical and managerial anchors, with numerous security types and relatively few creativity and autonomy profiles.

Twelve of the officers, however, showed a technical competence comparable to that of the best technician and a self-reliance similar to the autonomy anchor. Most importantly, they were testers and challenge seekers--values and motives which really distinguished them as a separate profile. They had a reputation for being "crazy" and reckless, but their very real competence made these situations a calculated risk. Their test genuinely would have been someone else's folly. Accompanying their self-confidence is their independence. They are loners, often distrustful of the competence and standards of others, self-starting, hardworking, and self-reliant. These officers needed lots of challenge--even life-and-death adventure--as a basic psychological requirement. Often times they expressed this need as a patriotic desire to fight for their country. Others simply acknowledged the excitement of danger. To all of them, the Navy was an arena for adventure, and the interviewers had the impression that these careerists would have been equally content working for a comparably equipped mercenary force. All of them were in high-action and high-risk positions: on a destroyer, or a fast attack submarine, or in a jet fighter squadron. They usually feared being

promoted beyond the action; they especially dreaded staff positions.

Often antibureaucratic boat-rockers and scornful of formal procedures, many warriors put up with large bureaucracies because rich and specialized organizations can offer more excitement and opportunity. As one naval officer said, "Nobody else has fighter planes." A courtroom attorney may seek the complex and challenging cases that come to a large legal firm even though a solo practice or a small firm offers more independence. A warrior businessman may choose a medium-sized, less government-regulated, fast-changing, and risky-industry enterprise in which to work.

The warrior is unlike the other career anchor personalities Schein describes. More than a technical craftsman, he uses the craft for adventure, risk-taking, and winning. The warrior is also different from the autonomy types. While independence is important, he is willing to comply with bureaucratic limitations to pursue his excitement. The warrior does not possess an entrepreneurial anchor and creating new ventures is not his major goal, although he may pursue entrepreneurial activities if they provide a good arena to test his skills and provide excitement. He is not a manager; with his antiorganizational personality, he is usually at the margin of the rules and the system; furthermore, he is not particularly administrative, people-oriented, or good at office politics. He certainly lacks the characteristics of a security-anchored person.

The following chart (Figure 1) distinguishes between warriors and four of Scheins's five main career anchor types; warriors have so few characteristics of the security anchor that this comparison was not made.

As this table makes plain, what sets the warrior off from the others is his value-centered drive for testing his competence and seeking challenging opportunities. It is also apparent that many of the anchor types share skills or values with an allied career anchor. As Schein states, however, "Such (other) motives are clearly operating and visible when one talks to people in this group, but one senses that the thing which is driving them, the thing which they cannot give up, is the need for (their anchor). And this need operates whether or not the person is successful" (1978, pp. 150-151).

Thus, the warrior is competent, action-oriented and in search of challenging opportunities and self-testing situations. He often manifests these motives, values, and talents by workaholism, crusading, putting himself on the line in some extremely difficult circumstance, and fiercely competing against himself.

The Contribution of Warriors

Warriors can be found in many settings, not just the military. Some are in fields offering physical challenges--stuntman, professional athlete, racecar driver and paramilitary organizations such as rescue squads, policeman, SWAT teams, and the FBI or CIA. Others are in such varied careers as attorneys, politicians, reporters, union negotiators, venture capitalists, and CEO's of large companies. Some companies likely

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CHARACTERISTICS

	ABILITY-CENTERED			VALUE-CENTERED	
	Manager	Entrepreneur	Technician	Autonomy	Warrior
Talents	analytical, people skills, office politics skills, possesses emotional makeup to cope with stress	creative, inventive, innovative, possesses emotional makeup to cope with stress	good at technical/ functional specialty	competent enough to be in demand, indespensable, able to accomplish personal agendas	very competent, able to get exciting opportunities, possesses emotional makeup to cope with stress
Values	general management of facilities, projects, events, people	build, invent or create a new product	quality task accomplishment, craftsmanship	be own person, set own pace and schedule, have own lifestyle and work habits	testing, seekings challenging opportunities, excitement, risk-taking, danger
Motives	rises to a position of managerial responsibility	launch a new (his own) venture	become an expert or craftsman in an area of specialty	be minimally bound to organizational constraints and exercise maximum control over work	stay at the center of the action
Behavioral Manifestations	an organization person, upwardly mobile, plays it safe, does what is required to "make it" in the enterprise, difficult to have life other than work	works smart, makes deals, takes calculated risks, difficult to have a life other than work	quality over quantity, tenacious, methodical, detail-oriented, able to separate self from work	marginally, self-interest oriented, gravitates to settings where there is loose structure and he is able to manipulate the rules, frequently separates self from work	workaholic, crusader, out to win, decisive, tests competence in some ultimate way, no life separate from work
Anchor Commonalities	becomes technically competent enough to successfully complete early career and get further managerial opportunities, requires some entrepreneurship	often requires autonomous control to exercise creativity, must be technically competent to exercise special talents	often requires autonomy to perform well in area of specialty, will manage in area of specialty if it is a senior professional role	must be entrepreneurial to accomplish this, usually must be technically competent to achieve independence	requires technical competence to land exciting opportunities, is a loner and more autonomous

Figure 1. Career Anchor Comparisons.

to have a warrior CEO are venture capitalist orgnaizations, companies involved in acquisitions and mergers, failing companies in a turnaround stage, large privately held companies, and investment builders.

At the most basic level, warriors are the test pilots for change. They are the aggresive lawyers who test the legal system, the brash journalists who are willing to risk their lives for the big story, the stuntmen who would rather die in flames than chicken out of a spectacular stunt. The warrior is trying to test, not merely perfect, his technical expertise. He performs on the stimulus of risk and would rather have his technology fail than have his nerve fail. Furthermore, the warrior, while intimately acquainted with his technology, is less identified with it than the technician and can observe it more objectively. Being a user and tester of technology--sometimes past its limits--he is often a catalyst for advances in technology.

Nevertheless, improperly placed warriors can cripple an organization because of their tedency to push, test, or invent a crisis to add excitement and challenge. They may be loners when the circumstance calls for teamwork. They may push others too hard and create a win/lose crusade when the moment requires a steady effort and human relations skills. They may inappropriately force a politically sensitive situation. They may take foolish risks--and not always succeed. Needless to say, few warriors make it to the top of their enterprise. Often those positions are occupied by careful techicians or sycophant bureaucrats, while warriors prefer to remain closer to the center of action.

At the executive level, however, warriors are usually willing to take charge and gamble in solving problems. They do not hesitate to reorganize, cut, change, or shore up a failing enterprise according to their own vision, regardless of industry norms or management principles. Here they attack extremely difficult problems with positive relish, pitting their own ability against extreme odds, and relying on their internal resources to face challenges too risky for anyone else. Gamblers on a large scale, these warriors make good copy, and it is relatively easy to find them in popular magazines. Here are reports on recently featured executives who match the warrior profile.

Ted Turner (Newweek, June 16, 1980), owns professional sports teams and a communications super-network (he has recently inaugurated Cable News Network--a 24-hour all-news station). Says Newsweek, "While Turner's style seems the antithesis of boardroom decorum, his formidable business acumen and knack for bringing off the near-miraculous have garnered him wide professional respect." The article quotes FCC Chairman Charles Ferris: "He exemplifies the entrepreneurial spirit which will help shape the new information age. He's shaking up the industry." Says Coca-Cola executive Bob Hope, "He has an incredibly intense and volatile personality, and really doesn't have total control of it at all times. He lives at full throttle. There are times when you love him and times when you hate him."

Gerald Hines, investment builder in Houston, shows many warrior characteristics (Fortune, January 28, 1980, p. 101). He is extraordinary competitive: "The scent of a new deal is part of what drives him." He owns assets with a market value of $1.5 billion, has a personal net worth of over $120 million, and is described as one of the "venturesome breed who retains ownership positions in the real estate they develop." He is generally conservative in financing projects, but has not scaled down his 1980 plans despite the high interest rates and uncertain economic outlook that have made other developers cut back.

Hines indicates the warrior's desire for control in many ways. He distributes authority in "niggardly quantities." The firm controls details "down to the fabric in an elevator cab" and monitors the purchase of construction materials. The ambitious Galleria built by Hine's company in Houston, was budgeted at $62 million and build for $61.4 million. His refusal to delegate has limited the size of the company, preventing it from expanding nationwide.

Decisely competent, Hines started building his current firm in 1966 when he bid on a 50-story office project for Shell Oil Company. With a net worth at the time of $6 million, Hines personally guaranteed $40 million in construction costs. To some that would seem reckless, but Hines successfully completed not only that project, but several since. There is, within the firm, a "Hines way of doing things." He rewards competent managers with a percentage of the profit but also requires them to absorb the same percentage if a loss should occur.

George Latimer is the new mayor St. Paul, Minnesota (Business Week, February 18, 1980). Local business, largely Republican, were wary of this Democrat when he first ran for mayor because of his background as a labor lawyer and liberal university regent. However, their confidence has grown in watching him operate.

Though there are several points on which to criticize Latimer (he doesn't make long-range plans), he is effective. "He moves quickly between issues and gets bored if he isn't working on a problem." He has functioned as a troubleshooter in sticky labor negotiations, and "decision-making comes easy." His highly personal style may or may not be effective at higher levels, but he doesn't intend to change it and he is detached from the political implications of his decisions.

A skillful fund-raiser, negotiator, communicator, and fiscally conservative, he is concerned with revitalizing St. Paul through self-reliance rather than government assistance. He is dedicated to his own priorities and follows through tenaciously, stating: "I am of the definite opinion the people are tired to death of overcautious politicians."

In common with other warriors, Latimer reacts to conflict as a stimulus, has the technical skills required of an effective politician (although warriors in other fields might disdain them), respects self-reliance, is willing to risk his position, and has the self-confidence to make decisions and solve problems quickly.

Some TV reporters are also judged to be of this vintage. One person we interviewed said a colleague "was aggressive, constantly striving to get to the big time, always trying to break the big story." Moreover, he had also been a photographer and was totally familiar with the technical aspects of the business. He tended to volunteer where there was excitement, danger, and a chance to do a unique story. Says another anchor man on a local television network, "When X offered me a job he explained, We are leaner than the competition but we move faster, do a better job and we're going to run them into the dirt. X is a former Marine sergeant, a chronic workaholic (always in before 6 and never out before 8) and he thrives on the overnight ratings. He relishes being at the center of controversy. He seems to be genuinely more motivated by the battle than by any issues or principles."

The Small Business Administration's disaster coordinators, according to an SBA contact, are there to help citizens in a designated disaster area process their loans. These employees have on-going (practically speaking, permanent) nine-month contracts, which allow them some autonomy because they are officially "temporary" employees. They see their mission as fighting against fellow federal bureaucrats to deliver loans to the people. They take significant political risks in shaking up the system each time they swing into action and appear to love being in the center of enormously complex and pressing problems, "doing it right."

An engineer at General Electric has what he calls an ideal job. A front-line troubleshooter for innovations in the production line, he delights in getting out with the "real" people to make seemingly impossible situations operational. Design engineering is too passive for him. In fact, he dropped out of MIT as an undergraduate to attend Northwestern because the MIT program was too theoretical.

Implications and Conclusions

Even from these examples it is clear that warriors are fascinating to observe but uncomfortable to be around. How can warriors be allowed to make their contributions without feeling stifled themselves or without damaging their organizations? First, we need to be sure we understand that there are no "best" career types. Every career anchor represents a valid statement of a person's internal career orientation, which, when matched with the right opportunity, can lead to productive and useful work. As society becomes increasingly pluralistic and work opportunities increasingly diverse, organizations should provide multiple options for their human resources. Many technical companies are using a dual-track concept whereby it is possible to advance in status and pay either by going up the hierarchical (managerial) ladder or by becoming a more senior and distinguished professional.

What would be the right "track" for warriors? Warriors need work where procedures and rules are not as critical as the outcomes. They should work alone or as part of a small, select team of supercompetents. Their assignments should be complex and challenging, requiring superior skills or the cutting edge of technology, and with a clear goal. The element of risk is important.

An important organizational development is crowding in the middle and at the top of the hierarchical pyramid as more people ready for advancement compete for fewer promotions. This condition partially results from new retirement laws accompanied by double-digit inflation which discourages senior executives from retiring, complicated by the post-World War II boom in babies, now at midcareer. Some creative alternatives to straight-line promotions are Bailyn's (1979) "slow burn," a more growth-oriented and developmental path to the top, and Kay's (1980) proposals, with others, for significant career moves other than advancement. Warriors' life is their work, but success is not neccesarily advancement up the hierarchy; lateral moves and special assignments may keep them interested and productive.

Another important development in the study of careers acknowledges the impact of an executive's private life (self-development, family ties, etc.) on his work and long-term orientation. Here organizations may ask some legitimate questions about the price others pay for associating with warriors. What are the problems for spouses and children, for example, of living with a compulsive workaholic who is unable to separate his work from the rest of his life? What is an intimate relationship like with someone whose standards of excellence (in most domains) are extremely high? With someone who tends to define issues as competivie crusades? Or how about the fears and insecurities which might arise when the warrior risks not only himself but the family's assets? On the other hand, living with a warrior may be very stimulating and exciting.

In another dimension, warriors may be poor health risks. Recent research (Levinson, 1978) suggests that most people must find some sort of balance between their nurturing and their achieving selves to remain mentally and physically healthy. They must learn to cope with unfulfilled expectations and develop the psychological strength of coming to terms with who they really are. The relevance of this life-stage research to warrior types is a fascinating topic for further research; but old warriors, like most others, must cope with their mortality, their unfulfilled expectations, their nonwork life or lack of it, and their underdeveloped human need to love, to be tender, and to acknowledge emotions.

It would also be important to study warriors "who fall on their swords." When warriors do not succeed at the spectacular, what do they do? Are they healthier because such setbacks cause them to reevaluate their values and goals? Do they simply try longer and harder? Or do they become "weekend warriors," pursuing such hazardous hobbies as

skydiving, mountain climbing, or racing? Being survival leaders, cultists, salesman of a particular product or point of view might also become extra-organizational outlets.

Despite the problems warriors pose for an organization, every organization seems to need them. The warriors are often the subject of mythmaking. Their legends are told and retold. They emerge in some ways as heroes. Possibly an important function of the warrior is to be a deviant who, within limits, is too necessary to the enterprise to be rejected, a living demonstration of the organization's tolerance, and a near-super-natural person who in spite of idiocyncracies gets results-- the key to all organizational success. Employees may see in the warrior personality some characteristics they wish they possessed. Or, is it important that super-deviants somehow exist and escape in much the same way that the public frequently applauds a mastermind theft? The question of why organizations need warriors as part of their internal culture needs to be addressed.

The potential for both achievement and damage to a company is great where warriors are concerned, but probably every enterprise needs a few. The key is to provide them with difficult and challenging assignments, broad guidelines, and a chance to be in the middle of the action. Then the odds are good that they can accomplish the impossible.

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NOTES ON THE TWO-CAREER COUPLE IN THE MILITARY

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(Ed. Note. These notes were part of the material provided by Dr. Hall for possible presentation and discussion at the symposium in lieu of his inability to attend in person. The first item, Conflicts between Army Demands and Family Needs, was taken from a letter report by Dr. Hall to the Attrition Committee at the U.S. Military Academy on a recently completed cadet survey. The second item was prepared for the symposium.--J.K.A.)

Conflicts between Army Demands and Family Needs are an Extremely Serious Problem

One piece of data on this issue of career-family conflicts has already been presented: the feeling that West Point does an inadequate job of preparation for the military lifestyle.

Other data are found in the section of the survey which evaluates various aspects of Army life as factors for either staying or resigning. If we look at the cumulative percentage of people who indicate that particular factors are either "the most important factor for resigning," "important for resigning," or "an influence for resigning," the following emerge:

Factor	% Responding
1. Separation from family	80.1%
2. Family stability	72.4%
3. Quality of troops	60.9%
4. Spouse's feelings	59.3%
5. OER's I will receive	58.9%
6. Pay and allowances	53.9%
7. Civilian job prospects	52.9%
8. Military social structures	45.3%
9. Housing	41.6%
10. Too much field duty	37.8%
11. Management of my career	32.6%
12. Too little field duty	32.4%
13. Job prospects - retirement	29.5%
14. People in the Army	28.5%
15. Self-fulfillment	24.7%
16. Quality of Assignments	24.4%
17. Medical care	23.1%
18. My responsibilities	23.1%
19. Leadership of superiors	22.6%
20. Family related business	15.8%
21. Opportunity to attend graduate school	10.0%
22. Opportunities for advancement	9.1%

Factor	% Responding
23. Retirement benefits	7.0%
24. Educational opportunities	7.4%
25. Recognition	6.6%

Three of the four most important reasons for resigning involve the family. The impact of the Army career on family life (separations, moves) is a factor that could lead even the most committed person to consider resigning. The family factor is even more important than pay, which is critical as well.

At West Point, more could be done to help cadets prepare for family life in the Army. Courses like "Marriage and the Family" could be more highly publicized. Sponsors could be encouraged to share experiences with cadets about how to deal with separations and moves. (One possible way the sponsor program may backfire is by giving an overly-glossy view of Army family life. They see officers and their families when they are comfortably settled at West Point, which is Army life at its very best.) For first class cadets, orientation programs for cadets and fiancee's could provide preparation for separations, moves, and possibly managing two careers.

Facilitating Two Careers Among Military Personnel

The following conclusions will be drawn about two careers in the military:

1. The stresses of a two-career relationship are greater when at least one party is in the military than when one or both are in non-military careers.

2. If one partner is nonmilitary and the other is military, the importance of flexibility (e.g., geographic mobility, daily flexibility) in the nonmilitary career cannot be overstated. The military career is unusually low on flexibility.

3. If both partners are in military careers, at least one should be in a highly mobile branch (e.g., Quartermaster, Military Police).

4. Informal skills with one's assignment officer (in the Army) or detailer (in the Navy) are especially important for two-career couples. An important research issue is, How can people learn these skills at military proactive relationships with key career agents in a highly structured setting?

5. A delayed family (or no family) may fit with two military careers better than a family started in the early- or mid-20s. Why?

With more seniority, (a) both partners are in a better position to influence their organizations for more flexibility, and (b) if one or both leave(s) the service after 5-10 years, the family can be started later. Thus, the couple have military careers plus the family, but sequentially, not simultaneously.

6. <u>A realistic career preview</u> is essential. Prospective recruits must be warned of the potential conflicts between a family and a military service.

CAREERS IN OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITIES:
ON BEING WHAT YOU DO

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An intriguing partition seems to separate popular, journalistic writings about work careers from research-based, academic writings on the same topic.[1] In many respects the divergence is hardly surprising since the two domains differ by purpose, audience, and language. Yet, one difference is curious: there are few overlapping themes in the two literatures even though the careers examined in both are often the same/ Popular accounts of work careers stress the particular (and occasionally unique) things people do for a living and the various meanings such activities hold for people who do them. Academic accounts gloss over the specific things people do, but emphasize the abstract (and occasionally general) ways people are organized to pursue their livelihoods. To take a hypothetical example, the person whom the researcher considers a "lower level employee of a small business organization" is, to the journalist, "a garage mechanic at Sam's Auto Shop."

The dissimilarities between these two approaches are more than stylistic. First, proponents of each perspective make different assumptions about how people assess their work careers. Researchers suggest that people regard their work careers in terms of the various organizationally-defined positions they have held in the past and wish to hold in the future. The journalists imply that people regard their work careers in terms of the exacting social, moral, physical, and intellectual character of the work itself. Second, proponents of each perspective identify different features of work worlds as crucial. For example, when organizationally-defined positions are seen as significant, career depictions focus upon mobility and often deemphasize the importance of specific tasks and social relations since these features change with movement. If, however, the work itself is regarded as significant, career depictions must include persons' responses to particular work tasks as well as to the specific social settings where the work occurs. While both approaches are to be valued for their idiosyncracies and special insights, most career research has been marked by a rather pervasive and persistent interest in organizational positions and mobility rather than the substantive nature of the work people perform during their working lives. We suggest here that this bias limits the potential scope and value of career studies.

In this paper, we temporarily suspend the researcher's ordinary assumption that organizational movement is the most important character- istic of a career and look instead to the task and social features of work as alternative characteristics. We wish to sketch a research perspective that will prove useful when one regards our hypothetical auto repairman as a 'mechanic' rather than an 'employee'. The intent is to formulate tentative speculations about what a career might look like to those pursuing it when set against a backdrop that is occupationally, not organizationally, specific.

THE NATURE OF OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITIES

Work careers are played out in a variety of settings. These settings not only direct and constrain the visible path of a person's "external" career, but also provide a rich set of tasks, symbols, colleagues, and idealogies that influence the individual's subjective construction of an "internal" career--the meaning the person attributes to the sequence of work-related experiences that comprise the career.[2] Importantly, the setting noticed by an observer may not be the one used by the person in the career. It is not, for example, readily apparent that everyone working in an organization considers his or her career to be an organizational one. We may analytically embed industrial scientists in organizational contexts, but they may measure their careers against the background of their specialties (Glaser, 1964). Academics certainly belong to organizations, but evidence suggests that many see themselves in the context of their scholarly field (Caplow & McGee, 1958; Gouldner, 1957).

Recent career research and theory is tied to the experience of people occupying a relatively small set of organizationally-defined positions. In particular, managers and administrators--some 14% of the working population--receive most of the attention.[3] These positions carry career lines defined largely in terms of hierarchical advancement. For the remaining occupational classifications (86%), ideal and perhaps typical career lines are difficult to imagine. Part of this difficulty lies in our limited understanding of occupationally unique values and practices. To know what a career in dentistry, firefighting, accounting, or photography consists of a means to those who pursue it to know the social and moral contours of the occupation. Of course, not all occupations can be said to possess relatively decipherable contours since the degree to which knowledge, values, and practices are shared among practitioners is variable across occupations. Some occupations, however, can be decoded and it is at this juncture that the idea of an "occupational community" is most relevant for it draws attention to settings within which occupational knowledge, values, and practices are shared and transmitted from generation to generation of participants.

The notion of an occupational community is based upon two classical sociological premises. First is the idea that the work we do shapes the totality of our lives and to a great extent defines who we think we are. Second is the observation that groups of people bound together by shared values, common interests, and a sense of tradition evidence strong bonds of solidarity or mutual regard and take part in a communal way of life that contrasts with the conflict, individualism, and rational calculation of self interest associated with groups organized on the basis of coercive or utilitarian principles.[4] The fusion of these two premises finds expression in the idyllic vision of the artisian whose very being is inseparable from his means of livelihood and whose work suffuses meaning into every aspect of his dealings with others. C. Wright Mills best depicts the ideal:

> The craftsman's work is the mainspring of the only
> world he knows; he does not flee from work into a
> separate sphere of leisure ... he brings to his non-
> working hours the values and qualities developed and
> employed in his working time. His idle conversation
> is shop talk; his friends follow the same line of
> work as he, and share a kinship of feeling and
> thought. (Mills, 1956, p. 223)

This blurring of the distinction between work and leisure and the idea that certain kinds of work can bind people together and mold the course of their existence lies at the core of research ventures into occupational communities. For example, working with high status occupations, Gertzl (1961:38) used the phrase "occupational community" to reflect the "pervasiveness of occupational identification and the convergence of informal friendship patterns and colleague relationships." Salaman (1974) elaborated upon the same phrase when characterizing the work worlds of architects and railroaders. In general, however, the idea of an occupational community is rooted historically in the imagery of the so-called Chicago School of sociology and is prominent (if not defined explicitly) in the writings of Park and Burgess (1924), Hughes (1958, 1971), Becker (1963), and especially Becker et al. (1968).

The conception of an occupational community used here draws upon Salaman's work as well as the studies Van Maanen and his colleagues have undertaken in fishing communities (Van Maanen, Miller & Johnson, 1980; Miller & Van Maanen, 1978; 1979). By occupational community, we mean a group of people who consider themselves to be members of the same occupation; who identify with their work and their occupational title; who share with one another a set of values, norms, and perspectives that apply to, but extend beyond, work-related matters; and whose special relationships mold the realms of work and leisure.

Boundaries

The boundaries of an occupational community are set by the members of that community. An occupational community is composed of people who consider themselves "to be" members of the same occupation rather than people who "are" members of the occupation. This distinction relies solely upon internal, not external, definitions and is of both methodological and phenomenological import.[5] As suggest earlier, the social organization of an occupation as seen by insiders is often quite different from that seen by outsiders. Insiders may group themselves along connotative dimensions that escape the uninitiated and these connotative dimensions may lead some members to separate themselves from others who do denotatively similar work. This point, well established in cognitive anthropology (Tyler, 1969; Spradley, 1972), is crucial when empirical work turns toward intensive occupational study because conventional occupational titles provide only a dim suggestion of just where community boundaries may lie. From this standpoint, an occupational label may only represent the theoretical limit of an occupational community. Within this limit, socially significant types (i.e., of dentists, of firefighters, of accountants, etc.) may exist that are, for all practical purposes, mutually exclusive or distinct in the minds of insiders.

For example, fishing as an occupation includes a number of rather distinct occupational communities. "Traditional fishermen" recognize differences between themselves and "Non traditional fishermen" such as the "Educated fishermen" and "Hippie fishermen" (Miller & Van Maanen, 1979). But, even more important are those distinctions to be made within types. Thus, in the port of Gloucester, Massachusetts, traditional fishermen divide themselves into two groups, Guineas and Greasers. Each group represents an identifiable and self referential occupational community. Though members of both groups call themselves fishermen and exemplify the traditional approach to the trade, the two groups neither work together nor associate with one another outside of work. Both the social idealization and the practical realization of a fishing career are quite different within each group (Miller & Van Maanen, 1979). An example from academia may be somewhat more familiar. Sociologists who consider themselves to be symbolic interactionists rarely collaborate with sociologists who consider themselves structural functionalists. The two groups propound alternative occupational idealogies, methods, and traditions. Though members of both groups call themselves sociologists, they identify with only one of two quite different sociologies (Dawe, 1980).

Identities

The second attribute of an occupational community is that members derive their identities or self images directly from their occupational roles. An individual may be thought of as a set of social selves, each of which is constructed and reconstructed in daily interaction with other people as a person learns to view herself from the point of view of others (Mead, 1930; Van Maanen, 1979). To be sure these social selves are situationally specific but, as they are refined and confirmed across recurrent situations, they typically enable an individual to present a personally comfortable, consistent, and socially acceptable image to others.

Some social selves are, of course, more central to our sense of identity than others. The more central the social self, the less easily modified and the more omnipresent is the self in everyday interaction. We argue that the social self members of occupational communities come to possess is based largely upon the kind of work they do and assumes centrality in their presentations of self in everyday life. When introducing themselves to strangers, for example, we would expect members of occupational communities to first say "I am a (policeman, fisherman, musician, etc.)" rather than "I am a jogger, a born again Christian, a little league coach, etc.)" or "I work for (Xerox, IBM, Nabisco, etc.)."

Indirect evidence of identification with an occupational community is also demonstrated by distinctive accouterments, costumes, and jargon. Members of fishing communities wear particular types of baseball caps to tell other fishermen what port they are from and what their involvement with fishing is likely to be. Policemen carry courtesy cards, off duty guns, and numbered badges. The unique properties of each

convey significant clues to other policemen as to where the owner stands in the community (Van Maanen, 1974). Bawdy urban procurers of the Superfly mode are known to derive automobiles of distinctive styles and color called "pimpmobiles" (James, 1972). Electricians recognize other electricians by the color of their overalls and by the shoes they wear (Reimer, 1977). One needs only to listen to academics from differing specialities to realize their unique languages roughly outline particular occupational communities. In a sense, these visible identification devices serve as "tiesigns" that establish a cognitive and socially verified link between person and occupation (Goffman, 1973).

To identify with one's work is also to be highly involved in that work. And, as Bailyn (1980) suggests in her study of engineers, involvement in work implies something quite different than simply seeking or achieving satisfaction from work. Involvement implies (among other things) that one becomes absorbed in the symbolic nature of the work so that the work itself takes on special significance and sets one apart from others who do not pursue the same livelihood. Sociological research on occupations describes several factors that appear to compel a special involvement with work along with a sense of commonality among members of an occupation.

Danger ranks high on this list. Haas (1977) documents, for instance, the comraderie, mutual regard, and intense involvement among high steel ironworkers and attributes much of this to the constant, eminent peril that comes with working on open girders hundreds of feet above the ground. Danger also invites work involvement and a sense of fraternity among police and fishermen where the consequences of one simple mistake may be severe (Van Maanen, 1977).

A second factor encouraging involvement and identification with one's occupation occurs when members of an occupation possess (or, more properly, feel they possess) certain esoteric, scarce, and unique skills. For example, Stinchecombe (1959) argues that the separate subworlds comprising the construction industry arise out of the autonomous, specialized, minute-by-minute decisions made by skilled tradesmen. Thus, carpenters raise high the roofbeams and plumbers attend to their faucets, sinks, and toilets--each in rather splendid isolation despite the often frantic coordinating attempts made by contractors. Engineers too set themselves apart from others (particularly managers) on the basis of their claim to specialized skills (Bailyn, 1980).

Responsibility is a third factor promoting identification with and involvement in an occupational community. The "hogheads" (locomotive engineers) studied by Gamst (1980) feel they perform especially important work that sets them apart from other workers because the safety of a train, its passengers, and its cargo depends upon their performance. Indeed, there appears to be an almost sacred character to those occupations that are granted life-and-death responsibilities over others. When one holds such a symbolic trust, anything but identification with the occupation would be difficult to explain.

Values

To maintain a social identity, one requires continual support and confirmation from others (Mead, 1930; Goffman, 1959). Therefore, the third defining feature of an occupational community is that members take other members as their primary reference group such that the membership comes to share a distinct pattern of values, beliefs, norms, and interpretations for judging the appropriateness of one another's actions and for making sense out of the world.[6] The community's perspective offers moral standards to define "real work" within the occupation and to suggest just what work is to be considered good and bad. These standards approximate rules of conduct and are to be observed in the linguistic categories members use to partition the world. To say an occupational community provides members with a value system is to say that members internalize the perspectives of the group, that they evaluate themselves in its light, and that the perspective carries over to matters falling outside the realm of work itself.

Several conditions appear to foster adopting shared occupational values. We shall point to three such conditions although others undoubtedly exist. First, it seems that when an occupation is stigmatized, or is viewed by outsiders as marginal, members will turn to one another for aid and comfort and through such interaction will come to sustain a view of the world that justifies and vindicates itself. Becker's (1951) jazz musicians come to respect only the judgments, tastes, and perspectives of like-minded musicians. These values are predicated upon and at the same time create the musicians' view of themselves as different from the "square" majority.

Second, an occupation may penetrate many aspects of an individual's life. Consequently, to maintain a career within the occupation is to adopt a particular lifestyle. Experience then becomes the common denominator and shared ways of interpreting this experience develop. Funeral directors, for example, understand that their work requires them to maintain certain community and religious standards. Hence, their self presentations are marked by heightened personal reserve and social conservatism (Habenstein, 1962). Moreover, the practices of providing 24-hour availability and living in the funeral home provide a common experiential base across a wide segment of the occupation. These features (and others) apparently lead to a world view which is quite similar among funeral directors (Barley, 1980).

Rigorous socialization is a third condition that influences members to adopt the standards of the occupational group. The ordeal-like atmosphere of the police academy draws individuals together for mutual support and creates a recruit culture within which novice policemen can interpret their experiences in ways shared by others (Van Maanen, 1973). Various occupations utilize different socialization practices but, in general, the more harsh, formal, and lengthy the process, the more uncertain the outcome; and the more controlled the aspirant, the more similar will be the values that are eventually adopted

by the people entering the occupation (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Elite professional schools are exemplars in this regard.

Social Relations

The fourth and final attribute of an occupational community concerns the blurring of the distinction people often hold toward work and leisure activities. The melding of work and leisure may come about when leisure activities are connected to one's work or when there is extensive overlap between one's work relationships and one's social relationships. In some occupational communities, specific leisure activities are themselves linked to the occupation. The link may be either simple and intuitively obvious or it may be an unexpected but nonetheless regular occurrence. Both Salaman (1974) and Gamst (1980) provide examples of unsurprising links when they note that many railroaders include among their hobbies the building of model trains which are then displayed to one another during leisure hours. An example of an unexpected link is found in the case of early nineteenth century loom-weavers in London who were widely known as botanists and entomologists and who established a number of floricultural, historical, and mathematical societies (Braverman, 1974).

The point here lies not in the substantive nature of the tie between work and leisure but rather it lies in the tight network of social relations that is created when members of an occupation seek, for whatever reasons, close relationships with one another outside the workplace. Of course, overlap between work and social relationships is not limited to occupational communities, but it seems to be both more frequent and more intense among those occupations that possess the characteristics previously described. As with the other defining attributes, several conditions appear to favor the overlapping of work and social relationships.

First is the degree to which members of an occupation are geographically congregated. Physical proximity promotes and eases social interaction. Fishermen, policemen, and prison guards, for example, must work together closely and temporal considerations associated with their work require them to live relatively near where they work. Neiderhoffer and Neiderhoffer (1968) report that the residences of members of some police departments are so geographically clustered that certain neighbor- hoods gain the reputation for attracting only police. Second are occupational factors restricting the social relations of members. Shift work, night work, travel, and long periods of work-induced isolation followed by extended periods of leisure all tend to mitigate opportunities to establish friendships with people outside of work. Firefighters would seem to be an excellent example (Smith, 1972). Third is the fact that some occupations literally provide for all facets of a person's life. To paraphrase Goffman (1961), some occupations can be characterized as "total work institutions." The lives of fighter pilots, submariners, intelligence officers, and other military specialists come immediately to mind. Stationed on bases and encouraged to socialize with

only other colleagues, an occupational community is created almost by
fiat (Janowitz, 1960). Finally, occupations that are kin-based and
entered primarily by virtue of birth lead to an extensive overlap among
social and work relationships. Fishing and funeral directing are
occupations in which sons typically follow fathers into the line of work,
and all family members seem caught in the embrace of the occupation
(Miller & Van Maanen, 1979; Barley, 1980).

CAREERS IN OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITIES

One striking feature associated with the work-specific
illustrations we have thus far mentioned as more or less meeting the
definitional requirements for an occupational community is that within
most of these occupations there are few (if any) hierarchical levels or
offices of authority to which members might aspire. Although crew
members may specialize in particular tasks, fishermen are, with the
exception of the captain of a boat, of essentially equal status.
Musicians in orchestras may change chairs or join a major symphony, but
their movement is one across lines of skill and prestige and does not
entail the formal accrual of power and authority associated with upwardly
mobile organizational careers (Faulkner, 1974). Even the careers of
policemen are relatively flat. Only a very few patrolmen reach the rank
of sergeant during their police careers and those who do, typically find
themselves distrusted and considered outside the occupational community
comprised of their former colleagues (Van Maanen, 1974). Occupational
communities would seem then to provide an ideal setting for examining
what Driver (1980) calls "steady state careers."

> The steady state concept refers to a view of careers
> in which one makes an early commitment to a field
> and holds it for life. There may be minor
> changes... and inner growth of competence in one's
> field leading to some upward movement, but the
> essential thing is a fixed identity within a field.
> (Driver, 1980:9-10)

As a point of departure for developing a scheme depicting career
paths in occupational communities, consider Schein's (1971, 1978) model
of an organization. Though originally applied to the task of describing
organizational careers, the model is aplicable to other settings as well
(Van Maanen & Schein, 1977, 1979). The model uses three dimensions to
describe a person's given career location as well as to describe a
person's career movements over time. The three dimensions are hierarchy,
function, and inclusion. When considering occupational communities, of
most interest is the third dimension, inclusion.

Persons who move toward greater inclusion gain centrality within
the network of community members. They may attain special priviledges,
become privy to secrets about "how things really work," and garner
respect from community members. Individuals who have achieved centrality
in the community are often identified by the labels or folk types used by

members to note occupational wisdom. The "sage," the "guru," and the legendary "old timer" are stereotypes in this regard. Kolb (forthcoming) observes that for federal mediators in one regional office, the major career move within the occupation is to attain the status of "pro." As these social types suggest, centrality usually carries prestige, honor, knowledge, and perhaps referential power.

Penetration towards a more central position in an occupation may involve one or more of what Glaser and Strauss (1971) call "status passages." Almost all occupations provide for a period of training and testing during which neophytes are taught and usually learn "the rules of the game" while they are scrutinized by their more experienced workmates as to their willingness to play by these rules (Van Maanen, 1980a). For example, the newcomer may be initially assigned "dirty work" as a way of having his or her mettle tested to reveal any character flaws or as a way of testing the newcomer's commitment to the occupation and work group. The period of testing and training may be informal and unplanned or highly structured and rigorous. Haas (1977) offers a first-person account of how high steel workers are informally taught to maintain a front of fearlessness while remaining keenly aware of the danger of the work. The testing process includes "binging," playfully but crudely insulting the recruits to assertain their emotional stability and physical dexterity in moments of diversion, traits considered to be crucial by veteran ironworkers. Similarly, during their early phases of professional training, psychiatrists are assigned so-called "hopeless cases" as a way of, in Light's (1980) terms, "socializing them to failure." Other structured apprenticeship periods may compel the green recruit to do distasteful service as the butt of community pranks, or to be the unwitting scapegoat for the mistakes made by others. Wherever special skills and complex role behaviors are central components of occupational responsibility, relatively intense induction programs are to be discovered (whether they are designed by intent or accident).

Beyond the status passages that occur during the early periods of occupational learning, we find ourselves in a poorly charted domain.[8] Precisely what steps lead to further centrality in occupational communities are unclear. Some occupational communities may have well-formulated boundaries through which members must pass as they move toward the inner circle. In other communities, the transition may be smooth and may occur in nearly invisible ways. A third, perhaps unlikely possibility is that once a person assumes the occupational title, he or she is already at the center.

Since any of these alternatives are feasible, the pattern holding for any one occupational community is an empirical matter on which data are scarce. However, it is possible to extract from the literature on work and occupations at least three domains of involvement through which members of an occupational community might conceivably attain centrality as they accrue seniority and work experience. The three domains are: the work itself, the setting in which the work is accomplished, and the network of social relationships which surround the work. Consider each domain in turn.

Members of some occupational communities attain centrality by acquiring a reputation for expertise in the work itself. Such recognition may accompany the mastery of more advanced technique, knowledge, and skill; the accumulation of experience with a variety of work situations and the acquisition of a repository of occupational wisdom; or, the development of finesse, flair, or style in one's work. Renowned craftsmen are known for their subtlety and refinement of technique. Police detectives acquire centrality, for example, as they master various fingerprinting and ballistics tests and thus become more valuable to their fellow sleuths. Academics gain recognition by accumulating lists of publications and achieve acclaim when they advance technique or pose new paths of inquiry. Senior electricians carry devices and tools signifying their ability to handle tasks rarely entrusted to more inexperienced colleagues (Reimer, 1977).

Within some occupational communities, centrality may be attached to working in particular settings. Gold (1964) notes that janitors gain recognition from peers by becoming the custodian of an upper middle-class apartment building where the pay is only slightly higher but the probability of servicing "good tenants" is greater. Hockey players move to the center of their occupation when they move from the minors to the majors (Faulkner, 1974), and jazz musicians have made it when they find gigs where they can "blow it cool" (Becker, 1951). Fishermen yearn to work "better waters" and skippers seek to develop more accurate (though highly confidential) charts which locate potential lucrative fishing holes. One should note that in each case, the work remains essentially the same, only the characteristics of the setting change.

Finally, centrality may be gained by strategic expansions or revisions in one's network of social acquaintances. Whom one works with and knows become dimensions upon which careers are fashioned. Any doctoral student will verify that the reputation of the faculty represents a special catapult for launching a career in academia. To be allowed to stand on the bridge with the captain during fishing trips taps a fisherman for initiation into the intricate and well-guarded secrets of captain's work and signals to the crew the fisherman's probable succession to the helm. Centrality along the social dimension may also be attained by demonstrating characteristics highly valued by the community. To maintain one's calm and poise in the face of extreme danger elevates the previously "average" street cop to a position of respect within the patrol division (at least for a time) as does the tragic but not necessarily regrettable act of killing the proverbial "fleeing felon" (Van Maanen, 1980b). Among tradesmen and construction workers, those with quick wit, sexual prowess, or libationary fortitude are often at the hub of the work group. Such talents and the stories that are associated with them can make the long work day go far more swiftly than the hands of the clock might otherwise indicate. Similarly, Tom Allen (personal communication) has found in his current studies of workplace communication measures that the central figure among skilled workers in some manufacturing firms is the local, plant-level dope dealer.

The question of who is central in any occupational community is largely a sociometric question.[9] When studying occupational communities, we must identify those members whom other members feel best demonstrate the values and skills of the community, whom they regard as having the most enviable work settings, and those with whom they most prefer to work and socialize. These three domains may or may not be linked in any given community nor may the most central members be necessarily accorded great honor and respect. In some cases, the central core may be populated by those traditional types who best articulate and exhibit the community's values, norms, and perspectives. In other cases, the central people may be those who are the moral or technical innovators within the community. Such people may be widely recognized, or consulted, but they may not be emulated.

In sum, by studying those who are nominated as central figures, we may develop accounts of how centrality is attained in particular communities and, by comparing across communities, we may derive typologies of those seemingly sticky and difficult to describe careers where movement occurs primarily within, not across, a given work role. When conducting such research, it is important to realize that those whom the community sees as central may not feel special or central themselves. We suspect that many well-known academics, when closeted in their studies, consider their work and career to be "unrecognized," "stalled," "cannabilized," and so forth. This is perhaps a major problem for those who seek to carve out a career within an occupational community: On what basis can one assess the "success" of the career?

OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

To this point, we have proceeded as if being a member of an occupational community excludes membership in a work organization and as if a career in such a community precludes an organizational career. We have refrained from considering the two jointly in order to elaborate the fundamental nature of an occupational community might develop were organizational options closed or unavailable. Yet, the two career settings are not mutually exclusive. They overlap and play off each other in a variety of ways. Three types of interlocking, and more or less structural relationships between occupational communities and organizations are discussed below with an eye out for the implications each type of relationship carries for the careers of people who are simultaneously involved in the two settings.

First, an occupational community may itself be organized.[10] Occupations that face uncertain environments and whose members possess esoteric skills or expertise, often form voluntary or compulsory associations in order to secure more favorable conditions for the membership (e.g., to secure useful legislation, to control entrance to the occupation, etc.). Members of occupations may also form loose, mutual aid groups to attain advantages. Fishermen in several New England ports have organized cooperatives to obtain supplies more cheaply and to

market fish more lucratively than they were able to do before organizing (Miller & Van Maanen, 1978). The formation of an occupational association is typically the first step toward the legal control of work through professionalism or unionization (Bledstein, 1976). Additionally, as many academic specialties have done, geographically dispersed occupational communities may develop societies to foster communication among members. Although the formulation of an association may entail the creation of positions to which members may aspire, such offices are best construed as structured paths for attaining centrality or symbolic prestige within the community, since they rarely provide much in the way of material rewards or grant much power to supervise or dictate members' occupational endeavors.

A second possibility is that an occupational community and an organization may be co-extensive; that is, the organization merely provides the locale for activities of the occupational community. Some medical research laboratories, law firms, and academic departments exemplify such confluence. Glaser (1964) notes that within laboratories where recognition for scientific achievement is the primary means of career advancement, the achievements and perspectives that lead to greater centrality in the occupational community also further organizational careers. Research-centered universities encourage professors' deep involvement in occupational communities. For many people in these settings, the organization is of only secondary importance and is assessed and considered largely in terms of the degree to which it provides resources valuable for enacting a career within the occupational community. Though perhaps not common, it is possible for the two forms of social organization to compliment and even amplify one another.

Finally, there are those situations where the organization and the occupational community overlap but are not co-extensive and do not reinforce one another. Analytically, this is the most interesting case for persons in such settings are likely to be torn between competing but mutually exclusive careers. Such people can be located in specialized, functional segments of organizations such as a research and development department. They may also be found at the base of an organization whose hierarchy is short, steep, and closed to most members. Police departments and public schools evidence the latter configuration.

This third type of interrelationship is complex and there is typically an ever-present tension that arises when people must simultaneously pursue an organizational and an occupational career -- careers which may proceed in very different directions. Persons in such a situation can be located by their position amidst the hierarchical, functional, and inclusionary dimensions of the organization and at specific points of inclusion within the occupational community. The issue for the person as well as for the occupational community and the organization is which of the two settings will achieve ascendancy as the person constructs and plays out a career.

A manifestation of this issue can be seen on occasion when individuals are shifted from one functional area to another or when hierarchical movement occurs. Either case may entail exit from the occupational community. Becker and Strauss (1956) have noted that such passages almost always induce problems of loyalty for the person undergoing the transition. When a member of an occupational community accepts a supervisory position or shifts to another functional area, other members may feel the person is "no longer one of us." Furthermore, a new organizational role may demand new skills, present new problems, and provide an entirely new set of colleagues with whom to interact. These colleagues may possess a work perspective quite different from and perhaps antagonistic to the perspectives of the occupational community left behind. For example, Manning (1977) documents how the occupational community of policemen protects its members from the scrutiny of organizational authorities. Among members of the police community, to become a sergeant is to betray the very values upon which the community rests. Promotion seeking itself may estrange individuals from colleagues by requiring the promotion seeker to act in ways regarded as inappropriate by members.

When the organization's rewards are desired and when the occupational community is primarily external to the organization and its culture weak within the organization, individuals will be hard pressed to pursue anything other than an organizational career. It would seem that most engineers in corporate research and development laboratories are in such a position (Marcson, 1960). More problematic are cases where the occupational community represents a sizable proportion of an organization's overall personnel. In such situations, the playing out of careers within an occupational community may become a matter of deep concern (and resentment) to organizational authorities. Since members of occupational communities adopt other members as their reference group, organizational control through hierarchy is weakened as are conventional control practices, such as standard operations procedures and performance appraisals. In such cases, the organization's definition of productivity and efficiency may not correspond to the views held by members of the occupational community. Police officers, for example, belong to an occupational community that emphasizes lying low, fraternal protection, law enforcement not service duties, distrust of administrative procedures, and the belief that only patrolmen know what "real" policework is about (Van Maanen, 1974). In the final analysis, it may be the occupational community that defines what procedures are to be followed. Pity the supervisor who attempts to violate the code.

As a closing example, consider the managing of residence halls in universities. Over the past 10 years or so, universities have increasingly staffed their residence halls with individuals who possess master's degrees in counseling psychology or student personnel administration. In sharp contrast to previous generations of "dorm mothers and fathers," the occupational perspective of these new workers emphasizes residence hall work as an educational endeavor aimed at fostering the social and emotional development of students, a task

presumed to be neglected by most colleges. Radically rejected by these workers are the traditional organizational demands that residence hall staff act as substitute parents, building proprietors, and agents of social control. What is most interesting is the fact that many resident halls staffs (like the police) are able to resist the university's attempt to impose alternative definitions of their jobs by building closely knit occupational communities which are isolated from day-to-day administrative surveillance. Nor is it umimportant that these communities have also built considerable support within the larger student culture for the new occupational role (Barley, 1978).

COMMENT

We have argued that the external path and internal meaning of a person's career are subject to differing perspectives and may not represent matters that are necessarily under organizational control. Though much of the research on careers focuses upon organizational settings within which occupational communities appear to be weak or nonexistent, we have attempted to describe an organization per se. As alternative settings for careers, occupational communities accentuate career dynamics that carry one toward or away from centrality in a particular line of work. Currently we know very little about paths to greater centrality once initial occupational socialization has been concluded. Far more work is needed to begin to untangle what happens to people once they become full-fledged members of occupational communities. Yet, the idea of an occupational community seems useful when considering how people adjust to steady state careers. If steady state careers in organizations are seen as "normal" by members of an occupational community, this would help explain widely divergent reactions to "plateauing." In fact, plateauing may be seen as a matter of some choice, and the types of careers within a plateaued segment of organizational members may be far more diverse than presently thought.

More broadly, however, the lines of research opened up by a concern for careers enacted in occupational communities are many. Tentative hypotheses are not hard to locate as the following laundry list suggests:

(1) Careers satisfaction for persons with little prospect of organizational advancement varies directly with the centrality of these persons within an occupational community.

(2) The success of members in an occupational community varies in a curvilinear fashion with their tenure in the community.

(3) The success of job redesign or enrichment programs in organizations varies inversely with the attachment of organizational members to an occupational community.

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(4) Task specifications and centralization of authority in organizations varies directly with the demise of occupational communities in that organization; and

(5) All else being equal, people prefer "successful" careers within occupational communities to "successful" careers within organizations.[11]

Finally, we should note that by recognizing occupational communities as a legitimate domain for study, we can significantly broaden the base upon which we develop our knowledge of career dynamics. There is something altogether confining and rather artificial when the boundaries of research are narrowly tied to organizational careers. Concentrating upon hierarchical mobility leads to the division of the world into neat but overly simplified categories. Many people do, of course, climb pyramids and do rationally plot out career moves in organizationally defined ways. Most of us, however, do not. Careers unfold as much by drift as by design. Moreover, we are engaged at any one time in more than one career. We belong to something more than an organization, and what this something is often reflects what we do (or would like to do) all day. With this remark, we are more or less back to where we began and can again wonder whether it makes more sense to view our auto repairman as a mechanic or as an employee. We suspect it is the latter, though it is a question to which an answer must never be assumed. If we ask, we may be surprised.

1. The journalistic writing we have in mind includes the work of established literary stars such as Studs Terkel (1968, 1974) and Tom Wolfe (1970, 1977, 1979) as well as the yeoman work of magazine and newspaper writers. Academic work in this area is perhaps best represented by Hall (1976) and Schein (1978).

2. The terms "external" and "internal" career are found in Van Maanen, Schein, and Bailyn (1977). The phrase "external career" refers to the path and sequence of positions and roles that constitute a career in an organization or occupation. "Internal career" connotes the meaning career related roles and experiences have for an individual. See Van Maanen (1977) for an elaboration of how internal careers are constructed.

3. Percentages are for the year 1978 and were derived from the Statistical Abstract of the United States published by the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1979.

4. The first idea stems from Tonnies' (1955) idealized Gemeinschaft societies in which the work people do is inseparable from the kinds of lives they lead. The second idea is embedded deeply within Durkheimian sociology and is treated nicely by Etzioni (1961). Both Lockwood (1966) and Salaman (1974) bring these intellectual streams to bear on occupations in the industrialized world.

5. One goal when delineating the boundaries of an occupational community is to do so without violating the members' sense of these boundaries. Appropriate methods for circumscribing occupational communities include ethnographic studies which concentrate on depicting what members of an occupation community know about their world; ethnosemantic analyses which lead to natural language taxonomies of community members, and sociometric types of research which aim to describe social networks and ties within particular domains.

6. By reference group, we follow Shibutani's (1962:132) lead: "[The] group whose presumed perspective is used by an actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceputal field ... A reference group is an audience, consisting of real or imaginary personifications, to whom certain values are imputed. It is an audience before whom a person tries to maintain or enhance his standing." It is hard to improve on this definition.

7. This historical separation between captain and crew seems, in the United States at least, to be less prominent and distant than sea stories would have us believe. In particular, the increasing geographic mobility of fishermen along with the diminishing (regulated) lengths of fishing seasons has created a situation wherein many fishermen jump from port to port throughout the year.

Not only do they fish different species in different ports, they often do so in different occupational roles. Thus, a skipper on a salmon vessel, may also be an engineer on a tuna boat and a deckhand on a groundfish dragger. With such movement has come greater equalitarianism among fishermen. For a descriptive treatment of the causes and consequences of this relatively recent phenomena, see Van Maanen, Miller, and Johnson (1980).

8. It is true of course that the phrase "early periods of occupational learning" is a relative one. Some occupations require apprenticeships that extend over very long periods of time. Trades such as masonry are excellent examples where one passes from laborer or helper, to apprentice, to journeyman, and, finally, to craftsman. The trek takes many years. Consider also psychiatrists who may well be in their mid- to late-thirties before fully shedding the student role.

9, We should note that centrality must not be considered in any way fixed or necessarily enduring. It is an empirical question and occupational communities will vary. Professional sports offer a superb example of occupational communities marked by rapid turnover within the charmed circle of high centrality. Few members are able to remain central to the community past their playing days. Similar rise-and-demise careers may also be found in political, artistic, and entrepreneurial lines of endeavors.

10. An important clarification is in order: Occupational communities must be differentiated from professions. Though many of the characteristics of an occupational community are found associated with a profession, there are at least three points of contrast. First, professions tend to organize voluntary associations, to codify their knowledge, to seek high status, to restrict entry, and to embody (or claim to embody) a sacred societal trust. Occupational communities need exhibit none of these. Second, occupational communities tend to be smaller social units, more homogeneous in social composition, and bound by tighter collegial networks. By comparison, professions are massive social units with loose ties between members. In fact, professional associations are nominally established to provide a remedy for loose ties and to deseminate information that would not circulate by informal channels alone (Goode, 1957). Finally, any one profession may include a number of occupational communities. Psychology, for example, has its clinicians, its behavioralists, its attribution theorists, its cognitive experimentalists, and so on. Each of these groups may represent an occupational community but not a profession.

11. This hypothesis of course begs the definition of satisfaction and success as well as the difficulty of assessing either term across widely divergent work cultures. There are, however, some unobtrusive measures that are suggestive such as longevity, health,

turnover, leisure pursuits, voluntary work, and the career choices
of offspring. It is also worth recalling that of all the people
Terkel (1974) interviewed in the course of his studies of work in
America, it was a 56 year old stonemason whom Terkel regarded as the
most pleased with his life and career.

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